1: Nachtigall

SC15 Paez SC15

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/Information on the use of alcoholic beverages, coca, and medicinal herbs in shamanistic curing ceremonies and seances will be filed in category 755./

1: Nachtigall

SC15 Paez SC15

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/For information on the use of alcoholic beverages, coca, and medicinal herbs in the ritual purification rites following death, see category 783./

/113/

Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

000 /133 cont./

264 food and bean leaves as the worst. They eat together. The family sits around the fire and the woman serves. They do not, however, eat out of the large cooking pot, which is usually of clay, though sometimes of aluminum, but rather the soup is dipped out with a wooden ladle into shallow bowls, from one of which the men, that is to say, the father and sons, eat, and the mother, daughters, and small children eat out of another one. Above the fire area a few small pieces of rock salt hang in a small pouch or lie on a rack and are used to salt the food after it is cooked. To do this each one takes the piece of salt and holds it or puts it in his plate until the soup is sufficiently salted.

In the following, a few dishes: 1) maize flour, ground on the oval or rectangular grindstone with a hand-stone, is cooked with beans and cabbage; 2) vegetable bananas with beans and arracacha; 3) green ears of maize with beans (wood ashes are added to every maize dish, in order to make the maize tender more quickly); 4) green ears of maize with white cabbage; 5) white cabbage, arracacha, and potatoes; 6) beans and vegetable bananas; 7) only beans and maize flour; 8) arracacha and beans. Eggs are either boiled hard in the shell in a pot, or the egg is beaten with a spoon in a dish, water and onions are added, and the whole is cooked. All foods are cooked in a large pot as soup; only ears of maize roasted in a bowl /Schale, "bowl, shell, husk"/ (wáts; Spanish arepa) are an exception. Meat is only boiled, never roasted; they eat the meat of cattle, sheep, and pigs, as well as poultry and guinea pigs, but not horse meat. If horses die, the carcasses are devoured by dogs.

/134/ c) Means of Enjoyment

The two most important pleasures for the Paez, as for the cultures of the entire Andean area, are coca and chicha. Tobacco plays a subordinate role.

P /134 cont./

276 137 Coca (ēś) is a shrub whose alkaloid leaves, containing cocaine, tanning substances, and various volatile oils, were used as stimulants even before the time of the Conquista, chiefly among the natives of the Cordilleras region. Almost 200 species of it are known, most of which, namely 137, occur in America (Walger, p. 9). It flourishes almost without exception between the tropics, from Honduras to Bolivia, in a temperature that generally remains between 15 and 20 degrees. In too low a temperature the leaves are small and worthless; in too hot a climate they lose strength and content. The most favorable elevation is between 700 and 1,700 meters.

P 279 192 171 The word coca comes from the Kechŭa /Quechua/ language (coca or cuca), which, however, does not state anything definite about the origin and use of the plant, for the Kechŭa-speaking tribes of Ecuador are the very ones who do not use the plant (Cooper, p. 549). In the northern part of South America the designation hayo, hahiu is customary, in northeastern Peru ebee, hibia, hibio, and in the Amazon region generally, names like ypadu, ypatu, ipado, or batu (Bühler, p. 3344).

P 175 276 The first information about coca reached Europe as early as 1499 through the report of the Spanish priest, Thomas Ortíz, to his spiritual superiors, according to which the natives of the northern coast of South America used a plant called hayo as a means of enjoyment. The first detailed description of the cultivation and use of the plant is found in a work, printed in 1553, by Pedro de Ciéza de León, who for the first time calls attention to the fact that coca bestows strength and vigor and drives away hunger (Bühler, p. 3353).

P 276 171 P C 276 C 656 At the time of the Conquista, coca was known in Colombia among the Cauca Valley tribes between Popayán and Cali, near Ibagué in the Magdalena Valley, on the savanna of Bogotá, and among the tribes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. Today the use of coca is officially forbidden in Colombia on account of its harmful effects. According to Decree No. 95 of 1938, the sale of coca, except in apothecary shops and drugstores, was forbidden

P C /134 cont./

P 276 C 656 by the "Ministerio de Trabajo, Higiene y Prevesion Social." This prohibition was extended by Decree No. 578 of 1941 by the same ministry, according to which an exact list of the existing coca plants of the country was demanded and their destruction ordered, /135/ with a simultaneous prohibition against new plantings (Duque, 1945, pp. 445 f.). Of course this prohibition against coca planting cannot be strictly supervised and enforced in all the remote parts of the country.

P 276 461 The argument for the use of coca has remained the same from the time of the Conquista to this day: it is supposed to drive away hunger and to give strength. "Without coca one cannot work," I was told over and over again when I asked the Paez the reason for chewing coca. And, as a matter of fact, one sees the Paez chewing it on the long trips to market and during every physical task; but only at work, when one needs strength, and not during festivals and celebrations or on festive days. (The shamans are an exception, see below.)

P 276 P [887] The bitter tasting coca is chewed by both sexes, and the boys begin at 12-14 years of age, when they also begin helping their father with the work in the fields. The girls generally begin somewhat later, and in old age both sexes chew quite heavily and more frequently than is normal in younger years. The men take coca three times a day as a normal dose, and each dose lasts about two to three hours. Nothing is eaten all day after taking the first meal early in the morning before work; the second one P [272] is not eaten until after they return home from the fields in the late afternoon. During the pauses for coca, unfermented sugar-cane juice (nyũšayumĩ) is drunk, everyone carrying a calabash with one to two liters of it with him.

P 276 249 [137] The coca shrub, about 80 to 200 centimeters high, is striking even at a distance because of its fresh, light green, lancet-shaped leaves, which have two slightly curved longitudinal lines on the underside. Among the Paez of Calderas almost every family has its coca shrubs, the leaves of which, after planting, are harvested from the first year for about 20 years. Anyone P [437] who does not own coca shrubs himself trades for the leaves in

P /135 cont./
276 exchange for brandy, wheat, or maize (for exchange and barter
249 rates, see "Trade" /see pp. 92-94 /). Within the family each
437 one harvests for himself as many leaves as he happens to need; otherwise the father of the family usually barters for the entire family. Harvest time is throughout the year (Ill. 174 /see p. 277 /).

P Before use the leaves are roasted in a clay bowl and then
276 carried around in the colored wool pouch (kwatandyáha), together
317 with a small calabash containing lime. The lime (kwatánd) is
[415] obtained from limestone (kwatandkwát) which crops out at various places throughout the region and which men and women look for as it is needed, or the husband sends his wife to fetch a few stones. These pieces of limestone are put in a vigorously fanned fire for two hours, /136/ then in a clay bowl, and cold water is
P poured over them. After that the cracked stone is pounded to
276 powder. To enjoy it, one takes a handful of leaves out of his pouch and puts them in the mouth and chews them for a while, until the lime can be added. Care must be taken that neither the tongue nor lips come in contact with the lime. Beginners press the coca mash flat against their tongues with their gums and sprinkle a pinch of lime from the pear-shaped, absolutely unadorned calabash (kwatandóka) upon it; practiced coca-chewers take a pinch of lime on the back of the hand between thumb and index finger and toss it into the open mouth with a flourish. The green saliva copiously produced is partly spat out, but most of
P it is swallowed. In the case of old people it often runs out of the
C mouth and drips on the clothing (Ill. 179 /see p. 280 /).

276 According to my experiences among the Paez and the
P coca-chewing Colombian workers, the harmful effect of coca
C seems to be exaggerated in most of the studies on the subject.
276 Of interest, however, are the data of C. Gutiérrez Noriega (1952),
146 who investigates the psychological and physiological effect of
273 taking coca, especially among the Peruvian Indios. There, in the region of the greatest coca consumption, two to four kilograms per person and year, the daily amount of food for a worker is only about 2,000 calories per day. With a simultaneous drinking of brandy and an inadequate diet, physical and mental consequences

P
C
/136 cont./
276 are naturally more in evidence than in the case of the use of
146 coca with good nutrition and as the only indulgence. Along
273 with improved nutrition and corresponding enlightenment, a
prohibition on brandy instead of its propagation would be more
C desirable for the health of the people than a prohibition on coca.
[651] The departments, however, draw their chief income from the
P brandy tax, whereas coca was always tax-free.

276 Tobacco (wáhi) is neither planted by the Paez nor con-
[249] sumed in large amounts, since there is generally no money
available for the purchase of tobacco or cigarettes. Both sexes,
P however, smoke gift cigarettes, and, to be sure, from child-
[756] hood, that is, from two to three years of age. The shamans
[755] in their séances and ceremonies are in the habit of chewing
cigarette tobacco along with coca, but it is always purchased.
These séances last many hours or throughout the night, during
which shamans and patients together chew this mixture uninter-
P ruptedly.

273 Chicha (pronounced tschitscha) is one of the alcoholic
[171] beverages which, made out of various raw materials, are wide-
spread among the natives /137/ throughout South America, with
manioc chicha predominating in the forest region (Venezuela,
Brazil) and maize chicha in the Andean region (Cooper, pp.
539 f. and Map 11). Two methods of production are distin-
guished, according to whether it is a matter of raw materials
with a high sugar content (honey, sugar cane, palm sap, pine-
apple) or more starchy crops (manioc, maize). The former ferment
without the addition of saliva and need not be chewed in the
preparation; the latter need human saliva before or after cook-
P ing in order to ferment.

[137] Among the Paez chicha (mbéca) is made only from the
juice of sugar cane, a raw material that is not American, but
came from southern Asia and did not come to America until the
post-Columbian period (Maurizio, 1933, p. 75). Formerly
chicha was made out of maize, as it still is today among the
neighbors of the Paez living in higher regions (for example, the
Guambiano). The name for sugar-cane juice, nyúšayumîl

/274 cont./

774 (ũ = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although
776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same;
but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the
person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, ečˇ,
or nyiç without the person's becoming aware of this immediately,
but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this
case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how
[775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to
heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu
756 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example,
774 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The
754 latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring
forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
[783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse
[824] his hands with the herbs šũ and vitubĩtskwe, as well as with brandy.
[276] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly
and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar
to a firefly in appearance, but different from ečˇ.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
[124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us
that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyiç, which, to be sure, he
had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given
himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
[682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say
that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other
food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the
sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner:
The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santisima /Holy
Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father
himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills
people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as
Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/284 cont./

241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
[824] the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
[782] herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance, and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise [782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who, in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic.
According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

1: Nachtigall--277 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 173. Paez with sugar cane.

Ill. 174. Harvesting the coca leaves.

1: Nachtigall--283 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 185. Rolling out a "clay sausage."

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Ill. 186. Types of Paez ceramics.

1: Nachtigall--301 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/CXXII cont./

Ill. 184. Potter smoothing out the seams of the pot. In order to be able to turn it more easily, he has set it on a shallow clay bowl.

Plate XCVI

Ill. 185. Potter rolling out a "clay sausage." The pots are made with the spiral coil technique.

Ill. 186. Types of Paez ceramics. There are spherical pots and shallow bowls without a standing surface. The large pot is used for making chicha, the two smaller ones for cooking, the bowl for roasting coca leaves.

[273]
[276]

Plate XCVII

Ill. 187. Weaver making the women's colored belt. The many cross-sticks serve for stretching the warp threads.

Ill. 188. Weaving the ornamental warp. Visible above the sword is a shed rod which holds up the red warp threads not needed at the moment for the pattern.

Ill. 189 and 190. Patterns of the women's colored belts.

Plate XCVIII

Ill. 191. Bamboo suspension bridge over the Rio Paez at Avirama.

Ill. 192. Bamboo suspension bridge at Belalcázar.

Ill. 193. Shore anchoring of the suspension bridge of Balalcázar.

Ill. 194. Timber bridge across the Rio Kokiyó at Calderas, at the time of construction.

Plate IC

Ill. 195. Timber bridge across the Rio Kokíyó at Calderas, with the protective roof characteristic of this type of bridge.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lel*), tumors of several kinds (*lol-sek*, tonsilitis; *kwi*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*huzgni*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhœa (*u-thith*), dysentery (*mangni*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gni* in the ancient dialect, *kni-kni-ni* in that spoken at the present day).

Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

Clothing. Personal Adornment

At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the clothing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards, but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the Indians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiu*), that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-ath*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *ath-peth*, is first put on. Over the *tund-ath* they carry on their left side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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bag and the small receptacle that contains the quicklime used with the former. When out of doors a second piece of woolen cloth, longer and narrower than the first and called simply *atš*, is thrown over the shoulders, with the head likewise thrust through the middle. A narrow-brimmed hat (*tsna*) the like of which is found among the Kitsua, is the usual complement of this dress. It is made of the outer skin of a tall grass (*Gynerium saccharoides*), resembling sugar-cane and common along rivers.

The women all dress in the same way, with fabrics invariably woven by themselves. The underwear, which is often dispensed with, consists of a narrow piece of woolen tissue used as a loin cloth, passing between the legs and then rolled around the hips. Over this article is worn a broad piece of dark woolen cloth, wrapped along the body and limbs in the form of a skirt. This is the *anaco*, or *pamb-atš*, and it is attached to the waist by means of a sash called *vilia*, the elaborateness and ornamentation of which vary with the wealth of the owner. The upper part of the body is covered with a ruana called *atš-tnl*, sewed along the right side and on the right shoulder, but open at the left side, being simply pinned on the left shoulder with a wooden peg or a fish-bone. When traveling the women provide themselves with another broad piece of cloth (*spatš*) which is used either as a cover or for wrapping the baby on the back. In the latter case the cloth is secured by means of a belt (plate IV, 1).

Women also wear necklaces, made now of common glass beads, silver coins, or small sea-shells, the number of strings depending on the wealth of the husband. The mention in Castillo's vocabulary of a word for bracelet (*kaschand-gnnc-tsa*) indicates the former use of such ornament. Females have no headgear. Married women part their hair along the median line of the head and allow it to hang back in two braids. Little girls wear their hair loosely behind the shoulders. In former times women painted their faces blue with the juice of a fruit called *kii*. Speaking of this custom, which seems to be obsolete now, Castillo facetiously says: "fruta . . . con cuyo zumo se pintan el rostro las Indias (*i ann las que no lo son*)." Men formerly decorated their bodies and faces with *tok*, the red color

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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244 262 now widely used all over Spanish America, is of Kitšua origin (*zapayú*); *ápe-te*, the most extensively cultivated variety, is called *Mejicano* by the Spanish natives, although it seems to have been cultivated in the country from time immemorial.

Several interesting edible roots or tubers, mostly under cultivation, are relished by the Paez Indians. Thus *ãs*, or *aus* (*Arracacia esculenta*), a celery-like umbelliferous plant with large white roots; *unt*, a peculiar yam (*Dioscorea*); *nia* the cassava root; *káka*, the potato, of which there are certainly several species; *tsẹvi*, or *ẓuil* (*Ullucus tuberosus*), a very remarkable *Chenopodiacea*, of the high Andean region; *puil*, *Tropæolum tuberosum*, another species, the cultivation of which seems to be restricted to a limited district of western South America. All these plants are more or less under cultivation, but the Indians also eat many wild roots which I had no opportunity to identify. *Kambitẓ* (*Cyclanthera pedata*), the singularly-shaped fruit of a Cucurbit, is used as a green vegetable along with the tender sprouts of several other plants.

245 262 Among the favorite fruits the plantain naturally ranks first, and is conspicuous around the houses even at an altitude of 1,800 meters. The generic names are *plan*, suggesting the Spanish *plántano* or *plátano*, and *tulú*, a word that forms the root of *Tulua*, the name of a town in a territory formerly occupied by the Quimbayas. The banana or *guinco*, corrupted into *kuciö*, is probably an imported variety, as are several others rarely met with.

Other fruits are the *papaya*, *paiá*, not mentioned by Castillo, and the name of which indicates a modern acquisition; *ẓal*, one of the granadillas (*Passiflora edulis*); *ẓakú*, the pineapple, which grows only in the lower region; *ụẓtse*, the aguacate (*Persea gratissima*); and also several species of *Inga*, the white pulp around the seeds of which is eaten.

There are two varieties of edible guavas, the one sweet (*Psidium guayaba*), the other sweet sour (*Ps. pomiferum*); and the berries of several *Melastomataceæ*, many of which escaped my observation, are enjoyed by both children and adults.

276 [249] A plant very important in the Indian economy is the coca

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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(*c3*). It is very little cultivated in Tierra Adentro, however, and the dry leaves are imported from the lower Paez and Tolima basins. To this product the Paez is indebted for his disgusting chewing and spitting habit, the use of which is still doubtful to me. Coca leaves are said to be a powerful reconstituent, allowing the Indians to endure long marches and great privation. But the women do not use it, and however often they may participate in these hardships, it is with the same endurance. At all events the Paez men never cease chewing and spitting. Each of them carries a supply of coca leaves in his *iisa*, and the quicklime or *knetan* in a small gourd, both hanging at his left side. Now and then he ejects a mouthful of green saliva, making sure that there be a clean whitewashed wall near by, in order thus to decorate it. He then takes a new handful of leaves, sprinkles them with a little *knetan*, and fills his mouth again, ceasing this everlasting process only long enough to eat, drink, and sleep.

Tobacco is known in Tierra Adentro under the name of *nnci-hi*, but it is never smoked or chewed. The sugar-cane, *nnsa*, is cultivated in small patches. The only textile plant observed by me is a short-leaved agave called *sasto* (Span. *maguey*). The larger part of the district inhabited by the Paez is above the region in which grows the bamboo called *guadua*; but this beautiful grass is known to them under the name of *mom*, or *mum*. They transport canes of it from a distance for use in the construction of their lighter bridges; and at Huila, about 1,800 meters above sea-level, there was a small plantation of it, showing a primitive attempt at cultivation.

Several useful plants have been mentioned in connection with dyeing (page 318). Although in the Huila mountains there is at least one species of rubber-yielding *Sapium*, the Indians do not seem to have known of the elastic properties of its gum.

A most striking feature of the upper forest zone of the Palo valley is the wax-palm, *lâmc* (*Ceroxylum andicola*), which is also for the Indians an important economic plant on account of the wax which they obtain by scraping the lofty trunks (plate IX). This product they use mainly for illuminating purposes. Un-

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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kâ (H)	blood
kin-se, kûs-ulsa	the afternoon — Cast. : *finse*
kiú, ziú (H)	trousers
kún	to grind
kún-ku-kuêt, kú'-kuet (H)	grinding-stone — Cast.: *kune kuet*
kunza	mouse — Cast.: *enza*
kûs (H)	heart — Cast.: *agnus*
kúpe (H)	fence, hedge — Cast.: *ka-find*
ku-ûk (H)	death
ié-a-uts (H)	net
ié-cuχ (H), *a-cuχ* (T)	eye — Cast.: *ia-fi*
ié-cuχ + kâts (H) *ié-χ + kats* (T)	eyelash
ief-dzi-ke (H)	tears
iéni,	volcano
● [276] *iéi,*	*Datura arborea*, a small tree, with large white flowers, having narcotic properties
iek-tâin (T)	brother
[601] *iek-tâin neel-te* (T)	elder brother — Cast.: *ne-tel ; tel* = old
iek-tâin nuti (T)	younger brother
iek-te (H)	brother
iek-te inté-ka (H)	elder brother
iek-te-nuti-kua (H)	younger brother
i-kats (Cast.)	to dress (when a man dresses)
i-kats-ati,	inner piece of dress, a kind of shirt
i-kuêt (H)	knee, knee-cap
ins,	to dress (used by females only)
ins-ati,	inner part of female dress
io-lts, its-io	bunch
ip, ibi	light, candle — Cast.: *ip-i*
ip + e-uéla (T)	fire
ip + id, á	smoke
ip + ik-pâts	spark
ip + imbe-zetsa (H)	fire
ip + i-âin	embers, red-hot coal

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multi-colored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
624 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

/186 cont./

346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill, [262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in [273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by [276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work,"

4:Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

VII

The Milling, the Chicha and the Chicha-makers

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It remains to be said that the fiesta begins with the milling. Although it is common to use a horse to operate the sugar mill, it is more usual at fiesta time to move it with human arms, masculine or feminine. It makes no difference. The two laborers for the milling squat on either side of the sugar mill, and one h[illegible]over the cane while the other receives the bagasse, w[illegible] is piled up at one side to be handed back again; this is done up to 12 times in order to extract as much juice as possible. The millers do their work in silence when they are not drunk; while they do it with diligence, there is relaxation, laughter, shouts, and imprecations when they are under the influence of alcohol.

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The juice is gathered in troughs, or less frequently in calabashes and pots; it is heated to near the boiling point and then emptied into the troughs, in which, inasmuch as they are well "cured," fermentation is rapid. The troughs are made of huge tree trunks that reach up to one meter and 50 centimeters in thickness and four or five meters in length. As they are depleted through consumption, they are refilled with fresh cane juice. The troughs are covered with small mats made exclusively for the purpose. On the following day it is bubbly, yellowish, with a pungent, sweetish flavor. It is the beka pes (strong chicha) of the natives, who drink it with relish and delight. Five gourdfuls of this liquor are sufficient to make them drunk. Elsewhere called guarapo, while the Paez call it chicha, it is of great importance in their social life and diet. With its help the religious fiestas gain meaning, the mingas are carried out, baptisms and weddings are made more pleasant, and visitors are entertained.

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Work without chicha is inconceivable, and while they work they get no food whatever; they merely drink chicha and chew

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coca. Chicha thus provides the calories for work, while coca dulls the feeling of hunger. The consumption of chicha is general among men and women, old people and children. There is no household without chicha for any length of time. And during the short lapses when it runs low, they buy it or visit the households that have some. Among friends it is not sold, but given as regalement: /196/ "talking, laughing, regaling," as the Indians accurately describe the situation.

Milling for the fiestas takes place daily and is in direct proportion to the number of visitors. Milling for the mingas lasts two days, one week for baptisms, and up to a month for weddings.

The largest containers for chicha are the troughs, but use is also made of pitchers and large earthenware pots buried in the ground up to their rims.

The chicha-makers are the absolute masters of the troughs while they are fulfilling their function. They distribute the chicha, and even the fiestero himself must ask them for the amount desired. No one takes chicha without their consent. Furthermore, they accept the gifts which the visitors give to the fiestero. The latter merely voices his thanks. Although they keep taking chicha, they do not get drunk, so as to perform their task properly. They will have their day when they can do so.

VIII

Sugar-cane Aguardiente

At fiesta time, aguardiente is distilled every two or three days. The distillation is quite easy. The still is prepared in the following way:

A good-sized earthenware pot, 50 to 60 centimeters high and 25 to 30 centimeters in diameter, is filled with guarapo

/226 cont./

When the signs occur at the vertex (crown), the sorcerer is about to send the pest, and if they go from the vertex to the left hand, the person is under a spell.

If the signs occur in the gluteal muscles, an animal belonging to the person has died and the vultures are eating it.

In this way, the curers can know the nature of the illness /227/ and the type of remedies required. To determine the spell and the sorcerer responsible.

To divine whether a stolen object can be recovered or not, and who the thieves are. To learn whether a patient will improve or die. To detect the presence of the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi. To know in advance about the visits of good or bad persons.

The act of perceiving the signs is called to divine or "to think." Every patient must always bring tobacco, aguardiente, and coca. The aguardiente is used to call Thunder, Ghost and Echi and to satisfy them. The chewed coca and tobacco serve to make the signs circulate.

Divination sites. The té eu has a special divination site called Kachí. In it he practices the signs and perceives them when he has a patient to cure. If the patient is not in serious condition and comes in person to the house of the curer, then he can divine on its ground, even though there is the obstacle of the presence there of ají and salt/ articles that Thunder does not like. The treatment, that is to say, the perception of signs and the corresponding cleansing, is carried out at night, at two or three in the morning.

If the patient is in very serious condition, the té eu must go to a site where he will not be disturbed by the shouting of people, the barking of dogs, or the noises of animals. A site almost completely removed from human haunts, such as a bog or a lagoon. He takes with him two or three hairs taken from the crown of each member of the family present, with which he makes a ball that he places amidst the shu /Sphagnum/.

/227 cont./

755 *756 He remains at the site for about an hour. When the signs give hope, he leaves the hair and returns to the patient's house.

In treatments of this type, the curer requires as "provisions" a pig, a sheep, and chicha.

*755 756 273 ●276 [804] Divining the illness. The curer demands from his clients two eggs (3) of coca, two cigars, and half a liter of aguardiente.

3. One egg of coca is equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

He gathers the coca into a medium-sized pouch with great scrupulousness, for he does not allow a single leaf to be lost. He transfers the aguardiente to a bottle of his own and puts it in the same pouch with the coca, likewise the cigars. The divination is performed under the eaves of his house at 8:00 P.M.

/228/ He places the patient on his right, seated on a pango pil (bench); the pouches of remedies are placed on his left, along with the pouch containing the coca and aguardiente received from the patient.

*755 756 He begins by making two bundles of remedies with yacuma blanca, ul fiñi, fiundayuskei, bitopiskue, and chandur de castilla (4). Each remedy is extracted patiently from his pouch,

4. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

which contains all the remedies needed for his treatments, but not in any specific order. He does not show anxiety or haste; he observes great moderation. When he takes out the remedy, before placing it on the maize husk that will serve as wrapping for the bundle, he quickly passes it around his body, beginning at the right foot, going up this side to the crown of the head, and ending on the left side, in order to stimulate the blood [827] so that the signs will circulate. As soon as he has finished passing it, the signs may go from the right calf upward,

/228 cont./

[755] [756] [127] indicating hope, for if they moved from the knee to the foot, there would be no need to receive the coca, tobacco, or aguardiente, for the patient would be incurable. Only when the signs are favorable does he take the pouch of remedies received from the patient and pass it around in the same way as he did the remedies, with the aim of invoking Thunder and Kallumb, his helpers.

[75] He orders the patient to chew the bundle of remedies which he presented to him not long before. He picks up the tama (5) in his hands and blows on it with the remedies that he

5. Cf. below, "The tama" /see pp. 17-18/.

is chewing, which are the same as those chewed by the patient, for the purpose of preventing the ptans ("dirt") sent by the [276] sorcerers from surprising the curer and killing him. In this case he may have the mambe /lime to be chewed with coca, or the coca and lime together/ in his hand and nevertheless remain motionless, with blood running from his mouth. Then, and to the front, he drives in the tama, the weapon of Thunder, to indicate to him that he is not working in a bad way, but in such a way and in accordance with his teachings. Before putting it in the ground, he passes it around his body so that it will protect him from the ptans.

[824] [763] Next to the tama he puts the bottle of aguardiente, which he places a sprig of chayuts; if it remains upright and floats, it is a good sign, while if it tilts and sinks to the bottom, it is an omen of death. On top of the bottle he puts a small calabash to measure the aguardiente, in which is also put a sprig /229/ of chayuts; it serves as a preventive, for it prevents the ptans from catching the curer unprepared and killing him.

[276] Then he puts a handful of coca in his mouth and begins to chew; he remains seated, almost motionless, his eyes trained on the room and on the tama, attentive to the slightest motion;

/229 cont./

75 from time to time he puts in more coca and more mambe,
● [276] which he takes from a small calabash (kuetand tuka), pours on his right fist, and throws with force into his mouth. He watches. Sorcerers work systematically to send him the ptans, and they must not catch him unprepared. The signs warn him as to when he must blow the chew in order to contain the ptans.

He tells the patient that the signs are favorable; there will be an immediate improvement. The pains which assail him are due to the ptans which he has from the vertex to the nape.

After 20 minutes in a motionless and expectant state, the curer stands up with his face raised, as though illuminated, walks jauntily to the tama, blows the chew violently; he fills the small gourd with aguardiente and tosses it into the air. This is the invitation to Thunder.

He returns again to his place, takes a cigar and crushes more than half of it, puts more mambe in his mouth, and remains quiet, his hands folded and his arms resting on his knees. Only the deepness of the night with its characteristic sounds disturbs this decisive moment. No carelessness. It might have fatal consequences. He remains in this position for about 40 minutes.

Then he takes the chew from his mouth with his hand and tosses it in the direction of the tama, after having passed it around his body. The patient does likewise. He immediately tells the sick man that he must return with all the remedies. He interrupts his work. Thunder has shown himself to be
75 favorable. Since the patient has ptans, a good "cleansing"
783 must be done, for which he must bring three pounds of meat to be eaten after the cleansing, chicha, one pound of coca, one liter of aguardiente, and six cigars. The curer himself must
[177] go to the lagoon in search of the remedies. He advises the patient that for a period of three months at least he must not use the drugs of the whites, for if he did so, he would die.

The cleansing of the ptans. At 7:00 P.M. the patient comes to the house of the curer. He hands over the medicines

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433 From the above table, and relying exclusively on the data given there, we can deduce the following observations:

1. The production of Mosoco is superior to that of Lame, both in quantity and in the variety of species cultivated.

2. The numerical data indicate that there is underproduction, and for that very reason it may be deduced that there is underconsumption, although these data are rough estimates, since the only approximately exact figures that the natives keep are for the production of potatoes.

[243] [244] 3. The production of wheat, garlic, and potatoes is intended almost exclusively for the market, like that of barley, the production of which is not included in the statistical table, because we only have three figures of Mosoco and three for Lame. On the other hand, the production of maize, frijoles, barley, broad beans, ullucos, and nasturtium tubers is intended almost wholly for internal consumption.

[243] 4. Maize is the basic article of consumption, but the production given does not reflect this fact. Nevertheless, it does not include the amount consumed as roasting ears.

5. Losses of the harvest are frequent in Lame, owing to the lack of fertilizers.

[276] [262] [464] 6. Underproduction is compensated for by a larger consumption of coca (Lame) or by the acquisition of other food items such as panela, lard, bread, and coffee (Mosoco). On the other hand, underproduction explains why the natives go and sign up as day laborers on the haciendas of the "whites."

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Fams.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

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From the above table we can make the following deductions:

[245]
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1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale. It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

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3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize, plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably complement this dietary regimen.

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105 178 [244] Potatoes are the principal crop in the parcialidad of Mosoco and the primary source of the natives' monetary income. It has made possible the establishment of intensive trade with the municipio of Silvia and has plainly had repercussions in the modification of rules of behavior and the restructuring of institutions. The transformation embraces nearly all aspects of Páez culture.

In the first place, work has intensified. The people of Mosoco have permanent work throughout the year. The women participate directly in the preparation of the soil, the planting, and the harvesting.

The children of both sexes go to school regularly, learn basic skills, and utilize them in everyday life. Mosoco is the only part of Tierradentro where there is a private school supervised by a native.

[191] Bilingualism is general. The "chontales," that is to say, persons who do not speak Spanish, are very few. There are not more than ten.

● [276] The consumption of coca has disappeared among all the youthful elements.

[262] [264] The alimentary diet and schedule have been altered considerably. They have breakfast very early in the morning, lunch at noon, and dinner at nightfall. Milk, panela, lard, meat, and bread are consumed regularly.

The utensils are completely modern, consisting of aluminum and iron pieces.

There are wooden beds for sleeping, and blankets as well.

The houses are better built and furnished. There are houses of adobe and tile. Two tile-works inclusively already exist in the parcialidad.

The people are hospitable and generous toward foreign visitors.

[291] The clothing of the men is almost completely transformed. They dress like any Colombian peasant. The palm hat worn in other parcialidades has disappeared from this region. The women are clean, orderly, and talkative. They retain the slit skirt and sash, but have adopted chemises and the blue rebozo of the

/331 cont./

461 insalivation, which disturbs the normal consumption of coca.
476 They worked steadily until 10:00 A.M., when they took a short rest. Then they went on working until 1:00 P.M., when they were served "refreshments," consisting of a cup of coffee and two large maize griddlecakes /arepas/ seasoned with salt and two eggs, which had been toasted on a piece of earthenware and finished by roasting in the hot ashes of the hearth. They went on working until 3:30 P.M. and then went to the house of the minguero. The reward usually consists of the following:

476 Two bowls of chicha; then a large platter with mote, stew
465 with potatoes or ullucos. They eat what they can and put the rest in an aluminum pan which they brought for this purpose, or they simply put it in a fique knapsack to take it to their respective homes. After this, they receive still another bowl of mote without meat. Then, once more, two bowls of chicha and, following this, a large pot overflowing with chicha to be distributed among those present. This is done for each of the persons in-
[273] vited. The consumption of chicha is thus abundant. After this they are given aguardiente. Already drunk, they organize a dance. All this, of course, among the natives of means. Among the poor, the mingas are usually made up of relatives, who "conceal the scarcity." No dancing is done.

476 In the mingas of Mosoco, they sacrifice bulls, calves, or pigs, and they always purchase one or two pounds of coffee and two or three arrobas of panela. From their own finca they consume wheat or maize flour, potatoes, ullucos, or broad beans.
[461] Coca has been replaced by "refreshments." During the work there
● [276] are periods of rest that /332/ correspond roughly to taking a chew of coca in other parcialidades. The young people of Mosoco do not chew coca, but the old custom still influences the work. On the other hand, it is obvious that a minga in Mosoco is more expensive than paying wages, since various articles are purchased, and, in addition, they sacrifice cows or pigs worth more than 100
[464] pesos. But the mingas are indispensable in Mosoco as a means of obtaining labor which otherwise would be impossible to get. No one signs up for wages, because everyone has his own lands to work.

/333 cont./

417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient,
but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and
Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that
want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of
the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[777] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

/352 cont./

261 The natives lose weight -- says an informant -- because first they eat good and abundant food, and then they do not have [262] enough to eat and, naturally, grow thin. In times of scarcity ("hambruna"), they eat frijol cacha and its tender leaves, in the same way as they eat mejicano leaves; cabbages are gathered leaf by leaf, for at this time of year they are less abundant. When there is nothing more to eat they kill a cow and eat meat; they hunt /353/ wild pigeons or chachalacas, cook them, and [273] drink the broth with salt. They also make chicha, and the old [276] people get drunk every day; the consumption of coca increases: "the people chew and chew so as not to feel too hungry"; the little ones suffer hunger because they do not know how to chew, and they eat mejicano, which does not require the salt that they try to save. Finally, they end up going to the fincas of the "whites" to earn food, coca, and a few centavos.

264 When they do not work, they have one meal at 3:00 P.M. and another at 6:00 P.M. After the first meal they lie down and say, "We are making estancia," that is to say, digesting and [261] getting nourishment. Skinned maize with saffron, chicken, plantains, and peppers gives more "estancia."

261 They barely eat enough unskinned maize, which they cook as mote, but they eat to excess the sancocho of potatoes and frijol bueno because it is so good. No one eats an entire chicken. It is divided. In the former state they would believe that the chicken was stolen. Mejicano makes some people vomit, because they are used to eating meat, and they are the ones who might be thieves.

As a rule, everyone eats only one plate of food; if they eat [756] two, they cannot walk. The curers eat little in order to be able to [787] spend the night in vigil, devoted to their activities; they always [262] eat eggs and they avoid eating peppers in order to be able to [263] feel the "signs" (31).

31. Vernal Villa, S. "Magia y Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 248.

/361 cont./

276 511 [178] The consumption of coca has disappeared almost completely in Mosoco; the few data on expenses that appear in the statistical table pertain exclusively to elderly informants. /362/ In Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, the consumption is general and considerable sums, in comparison with the total income, are spent to procure this article. In San Andres, the expenses for this fancy would be higher if there were not a certain number of coca trees in each garden. The monies invested in improvements on immovables and livestock-raising are frequent in Mosoco, while in the other two parcialidades they are practically absent. This already implies a veritable process of capitalization, an activity unknown to the majority of the native population of Tierradentro.

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The largest and most constant expenses were paid out, in this order, for food, clothing, amusements, and the acquisition of candles and soap.

511 43 As far as food in Mosoco is concerned, purchases of panela, coffee, lard (fat), and salt appear for all 25 families; the purchase of maize and rice appears for 12 families. They also buy chocolate, bread, and plantains with some frequency. They do not consume manioc. For the eight families of Lame purchases of panela, salt, and coffee appear, and in one case or another the acquisition of rice, lard, manioc, plantains, and meat. In San Andrés the articles most in demand for the home are meat, panela, and salt, which appear for more than half the families investigated, but the purchase of maize, lard, potatoes, manioc, and plantains also figures with some frequency. On analyzing the statistical table of expenses for the three parcialidades, we find rather interesting coincidences that exist between the higher percentages for food and the deficiencies in agricultural production, either because of the loss of harvests or the scarcity of seed. In the former case, which refers primarily to Mosoco, we have already seen that the budgetary imbalance is compensated for by the sale of domestic animals, especially cattle, and in the latter case, which refers to the other two parcialidades, the low production is compensated for by the sale of labor.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar.

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor.

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds.

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185).

?:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguez*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Pdez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

[585] Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, [608] in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they [527] call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may dance at the beginning.

526 The *Pdez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguez* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these [857] peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, per- [769] formed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Pdez* and the *Moguez* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among [756] men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, [178] but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast [462] days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-